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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	EUR-01
	HA-09	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16	L-01	ADS-00
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01
	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	RPE-01
	PMB-00	/037W					

-----3E94B6 211447Z /38

O 211437Z APR 94  
FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0050  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
USDAO LILONGWE MI  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
USIA WASHDC  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME

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PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PINS, PREL, RW, UG  
SUBJECT: RWANDA: PRESIDENT MUSEVENI CONTINUES TO  
PUSH FOR CEASEFIRE IN RWANDA

REF: KAMPALA 3097

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

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SUMMARY  
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2. PRESIDENT MUSEVENI HAS CONTINUED HIS EFFORTS TO PRESS THE RPF TO ENTER INTO A CEASE FIRE WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA. ON APRIL 20, THE PRESIDENT MET FOR THREE HOURS WITH RPF SECRETARY GENERAL DR. THEOGEN RUDASINGWA AND WITH CLAVER KANYARUSHOKI, THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR IN UGANDA. I ALSO ATTENDED ALONG WITH THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR AND THE BRITISH AND TANZANIAN HIGH COMMISSIONERS.. RUDASINGWA REPORTED THAT THE RPF WAS PREPARED TO ENTER INTO AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE PROVIDED THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA STOPPED THE KILLING OF CIVILIANS IMMEDIATELY, AND PROVIDED AN "EFFECTIVE MECHANISM" COULD BE PUT IN PLACE TO PREVENT FUTURE KILLINGS. THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR SAID HIS GOVERNMENT HAD NO OBJECTIONS TO THE RPF PROVISIONS AND WAS WILLING TO TRY TO STOP THE

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KILLINGS. HOWEVER, WHEN THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR ASKED WHAT THE RPF MEANT BY AN "EFFECTIVE MECHANISM", THE DISCUSSION DETERIORATED AND THE IDEA OF ESTABLISHING A CEASEFIRE WITH PRE-CONDITIONS WAS THROWN OUT. AFTER SEVERAL NEW CEASEFIRE PROPOSALS WERE DISCUSSED, PRESIDENT MUSEVENI SUGGESTED A FIVE POINT CEASEFIRE PLAN (SEE PARA G) THAT THE RPF SECRETARY GENERAL AND THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR WOULD TAKE BACK TO THEIR RESPECTIVE LEADERS FOR APPROVAL. IF APPROVED, THE FIVE POINT PLAN WOULD BE GIVEN AN OFFICIAL BLESSING AT THE ARUSHA SUMMIT ON APRIL 23.

3. THROUGHOUT THE THREE HOUR DISCUSSION, PRESIDENT MUSEVENI CONTINUOUSLY PRESSED THE RPF TO AGREE TO A CEASEFIRE IN PLACE, SAYING THAT THE RPF WAS A MINORITY GROUPING AND COULD NEVER WIN TOTAL POWER -- MILITARILY OR POLITICALLY. IF THE RPF REALLY WANTED POWER SHARING, IT COULD ACHIEVE THAT, PLUS THE END TO THE KILLINGS, BY ACCEPTING A CEASEFIRE. MUSEVENI ALSO ELABORATED ON HIS IDEA OF AN EXPANDED ROLE FOR TANZANIA AND UGANDA (AND PERHAPS KENYA) IN MONITORING A NEW CEASEFIRE. HE SAID TANZANIA AND UGANDA TROOPS SHOULD BE "INFUSED" INTO UNAMIR AS SUBSTITUTES FOR THE BELGIUM AND PAKISTANI TROOPS. GENERAL DALLAIRE

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SHOULD RETAIN OVERALL CONTROL OVER THE UN OPERATION  
BUT WITH A STEPPED UP ROLE TO REPORT AND PREVENT  
ANYONE FROM CARRYING OUT MASSACRES. END SUMMARY.

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MUSEVENI ASKS RPF FOR ITS VIEWS ON A CEASEFIRE  
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4. MUSEVENI OPENED THE APRIL 20 (WHICH STARTED AT  
SEVEN P.M.) MEETING BY REVIEWING THE PREVIOUS MEETING  
(REFTEL), REITERATING HIS DESIRE TO PROMOTE A  
CEASEFIRE AND RESTATING HIS SUPPORT FOR THE ARUSHA  
PEACE ACCORDS. MUSEVENI UNDERLINED THAT THE ARUSHA  
ACCORDS PROVIDED FOR POWER SHARING AND ASSERTED THIS  
IS WHAT THE RPF COULD ACHIEVE BY ENTERING INTO AN  
IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE. MUSEVENI THEN CALLED ON THE RPF  
SECRETARY GENERAL TO REPORT ON HIS DISCUSSIONS IN  
MULINDI (RWANDA). RUDASINGWA SAID THAT HE HAD SPOKEN  
WITH HIS COLLEAGUES AND THAT THE RPF WAS PREPARED TO  
ENTER INTO AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE PROVIDED THE  
RWANDAN GOVERNMENT FORCES STOPPED THE KILLING OF  
INNOCENT CIVILIANS, AND PROVIDED THAT AN EFFECTIVE  
MECHANISM COULD BE FOUND TO PREVENT FUTURE KILLINGS.  
MUSEVENI EXPRESSED PLEASURE AT THE RESPONSE AND THE  
RWANDAN AMBASSADOR SAID HE THOUGHT THE NEW GOVERNMENT  
COULD LIVE WITH THIS AGREEMENT.

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PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PINS, PREL, RW, UG  
SUBJECT: RWANDA: PRESIDENT MUSEVENI CONTINUES TO  
PUSH FOR CEASEFIRE IN RWANDA

WHAT IS AN EFFECTIVE MECHANISM?

5. WHEN MUSEVENI ASKED FOR QUESTIONS AND COMMENTS,

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THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR RAISED THE MOST DIFFICULT QUESTION FIRST: HOW WOULD THE RPF DEFINE "EFFECTIVE MECHANISM"? RUDASINGWA GAVE A POLEMICAL RESPONSE, ESSENTIALLY SAYING THAT NO EFFECTIVE MECHANISM EXISTS. THE UN HAD NOT STOPPED THE KILLING OF PROMINENT PEOPLE; HOW COULD IT STOP FUTURE KILLINGS? THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT AND ITS MILITARY WERE THE KILLERS. THEY HAD NOT POLICED THEMSELVES BEFORE OR AFTER APRIL 6; HOW WOULD THEY DO SO NOW? RUDASINGWA SAID THAT PRESIDENT MUSEVENI HAD SUGGESTED THAT A FORMULATION FOR AN EFFECTIVE MECHANISM EXISTED; PERHAPS HE OR THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR COULD SAY WHAT IT MIGHT BE. THE RPF WAS PREPARED TO LISTEN AND TO ACCEPT A CEASEFIRE IF IT KNEW THERE WOULD BE NO MORE KILLINGS.

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MUSEVENI URGES EXPANDED ROLE FOR TANZANIA AND UGANDA  
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6. MUSEVENI TOOK UP RUDASINGWA'S QUESTION AND SAID THAT HE THOUGHT AN EFFECTIVE MECHANISM WOULD INCLUDE A GREATER ROLE FOR RWANDA'S REGIONAL PARTNERS -- UGANDA, TANZANIA AND KENYA. HE SAID THAT MILITARY FORCES FROM THE THREE COUNTRIES SHOULD BE "INFUSED" INTO UNAMIR AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE BELGIUMS AND PAKISTANIS. UNAMIR WOULD REMAIN A UN FORCE UNDER GENERAL DALLAIRE, WHO MUSEVENI PRAISED FOR HIS GOOD WORK. MUSEVENI ALSO ARGUED FOR A GREATER POLITICAL ROLE FOR THE OAU IN TRYING TO RESOLVE SOME OF THE INTERNAL PROBLEMS. IN PUTTING FORWARD HIS IDEAS, MUSEVENI SAID THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR RWANDAN OFFICIALS AND THE RPF TO IGNORE THE VIEWS AND CONCERNS OF THE REGIONAL PARTNERS. MOREOVER, THE LARGE EXODUS OF REFUGEES INTO THE NEIGHBORING STATES HAD MADE THE RWANDAN PROBLEM THEIR PROBLEM AS WELL. MUSEVENI CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT HE WAS SPEAKING ONLY FOR HIMSELF, SINCE HE HAD NOT CONSULTED PRESIDENTS MOI AND MWINYI ABOUT HIS IDEA.

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RWANDAN AMBASSADOR EXPRESSES DOUBTS  
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7. THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR EXPRESSED SOME DOUBTS ABOUT MUSEVENI'S IDEA, NOTING THAT SOME RWANDANS HAD BEEN SKEPTICAL ABOUT THE NEUTRALITY OF THE TANZANIANS AND THE UGANDANS. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR AND BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER ASKED WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF THE UN

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REFUSED TO FUND THE COMMITMENT OF TANZANIAN AND UGANDAN TROOPS. MUSEVENI TOOK ON BOARD BOTH POINTS, MOSTLY REJECTING THE FIRST IN THE INTEREST OF BRINGING ABOUT PEACE; AND, ON THE SECOND, ACKNOWLEDGING AFRICA'S PENURIOUS STATE AND ITS INABILITY TO FUND TROOPS OUTSIDE OF A UN CONTEXT.

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LOOKING FOR SOLUTIONS  
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8. AFTER AN HOUR OF BRAINSTORMING IN WHICH MUSEVENI LET EACH OF THE WESTERN AMBASSADORS PUT SCENARIOS AND SUGGESTIONS ON THE TABLE, HE PULLED THE MEETING TOGETHER BY SUGGESTING THE FOLLOWING FIVE POINT PEACE PLAN:

(1) THE GOR AND THE RPF WILL MAKE SIMULTANEOUS ANNOUNCEMENTS COMMITTING EACH SIDE TO ENTER INTO AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE THAT WOULD GO INTO FORCE 24 HOURS AFTER THE ANNOUNCEMENT. (AT -----HRS RWANDA TIME

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-----TIME ...GMT);

(2) FROM THE START OF THE CEASEFIRE, BOTH SIDES  
 WOULD HAVE 96 HOURS TO CONTROL THE VIOLENCE IN THEIR  
 RESPECTIVE AREAS OF CONTROL;

(3) UNAMIR WOULD BE ASKED TO VERIFY BOTH THE

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CEASEFIRE AND WHETHER THE KILLINGS HAD IN FACT  
STOPPED;

(4) IF SO, BOTH SIDES WOULD BE COMMITTED TO MOVE TO  
IMMEDIATE DISCUSSION OF THE EARLY IMPLEMENTATION OF  
THE ARUSHA ACCORDS;

(5) AN INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION WOULD BE ESTABLISHED  
TO ENQUIRE INTO THE KILLINGS AND MASSACRES BEFORE AND  
AFTER THE LATE PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA'S DEATH, AND THE  
CIRCUMSTANCES OF HIS OWN DEATH.

9. MUSEVENI SUGGESTED THE FIVE POINTS BE PUT INTO  
DIPLOMATIC LANGUAGE. (THIS WAS DONE ON APRIL 21 AT  
THE TANZANIA HIGH COMMISSION. THE LANGUAGE IN PARA 8  
IS THE RESULT OF THE APRIL 21 SESSION. PRESENT AT  
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THAT MEETING WERE THE U.S., FRENCH, AND RWANDAN  
AMBASSADORS, THE BRITISH AND TANZANIAN HIGH  
COMMISSIONERS, PLUS MUSEVENI'S LAWYER AND THE RPF  
REPRESENTATIVE.) MUSEVENI SAID THAT ONCE THE POINTS  
WERE AGREED UPON, HE WOULD LIKE THE RPF  
REPRESENTATIVE AND THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO CONVEY  
THEM TO THEIR RESPECTIVE HIERARCHIES FOR APPROVAL AND  
DISCUSSION AT ARUSHA ON SATURDAY, APRIL 23. MUSEVENI  
ALSO CALLED FOR ALL THE PARTICIPANTS AT HIS MEETING  
TO RECONVENE AFTER LUNCH ON APRIL 21.

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COMMENT  
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10. NO CEASE FIRE HAS BEEN AGREED UPON, BUT MUSEVENI  
IS GIVING THE EFFORT A SIGNIFICANT PUSH. RUDASINGWA  
IS HANGING TOUGH IN DEFENSE OF THE RPF'S POSITIONS,  
BUT MUSEVENI HAS LET HIM KNOW IN CLEAR TERMS IN FRONT  
OF EVERYONE THAT HE THINKS THE BLOODLETTING IN RWANDA  
HAS GONE ON LONG ENOUGH AND THE RPF SHOULD NOT STAND  
IN THE WAY OF A CEASEFIRE.

11. I WILL PROVIDE FURTHER COMMENTS SEPTTEL ON THE  
APRIL 21 MEETING AT THE TANZANIAN EMBASSY, AS WELL AS  
THE NEXT SCHEDULED MEETING WITH MUSEVENI.

12. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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